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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY

10 Cents a Copy

October 5, 1918

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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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VOL. III OCTOBER 5, 1918 No. 19

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

JUST now suffragists the country over are working like beavers on behalf of the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, just as they have worked in all three previous drives and in every avenue of war service work since war was declared.

As state political conventions have emphasized many times over, when registering their belief in suffrage, women have demonstrated beyond question their immediate right to citizenship. But despite all this, it is still necessary for American women to go on demonstrating, educating and persuading, in the hope that eventually every American woman will have the full rights of citizenship. If suffrage has been an interesting and a live question in the past it will be doubly so from now on.

Something of the importance the suffrage question has assumed in this country may be judged from the intensity with which the suffrage battle was fought in the Senate. The thrilling story of this struggle is told this week in the *Woman Citizen*. No woman can afford to miss it. Each number of the *Woman Citizen* brings to you some new development in what is acknowledged to be the livest political issue of the day.

"I assure you I would not be without the *Citizen* for worlds. We feel not only that we need it, but we also feel that all women owe you a debt of gratitude for your splendid service to the cause so near our hearts," is the way Elizabeth L. Buchanan writes from Memphis.

"We are great admirers of your paper," writes Kate Louise Roberts, of Newark.

It is interesting to note the "We" in so many of the letters that come to us. From that we take it the magazine carries an appeal to all members of the household.

"I like your paper," writes Mrs. Hannah T. Patchin, of Weyauwega, Wis. We are glad, because we feel Mrs. Patchin should be a good judge, as we learn in the same letter that she has been a reader of many of the suffrage magazines, national and state. "I took Susan B. Anthony's Citizen and Ballot Box," she writes, and then follows a list down to the Woman's Journal and then on to its successor, the *Woman Citizen*.

Yours for the Fourth Liberty Loan,

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER.
National Circulation Chairman.

> Do you take the *Woman Citizen?* If not, why not? It is the best publication you can get to keep you in touch with what women are doing in the world today.
> MARYLAND WOMAN SUFFRAGE BULLETIN.

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Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium
FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is $1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

September 21st	*September 28th*
1. Iowa	1. Iowa
2. South Dakota	2. South Dakota
3. Georgia	3. Georgia
4. Indiana	4. Indiana
5. Michigan	5. Michigan
6. Minnesota	6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey	7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin	8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts	9. Massachusetts
10. New York	10. New York
11. Ohio and Virginia	11. Ohio
12. New Hampshire	12. Virginia
13. Missouri	13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama	14. Missouri
15. Texas	15. Alabama
16. Maryland	16. Texas
17. Pennsylvania	17. Maryland
18. Maine	18. Pennsylvania
19. Louisiana	19. Maine
20. West Virginia	20. Louisiana
21. Connecticut	21. West Virginia
22. South Carolina	22. Connecticut
23. Tennessee	23. South Carolina
24. Kentucky	24. Tennessee, Kentucky
25. Arkansas	25. Arkansas
26. North Dakota and Washington, D.C.	26. North Dakota, Washington D.C.
27. Rhode Island	27. Rhode Island
28. Nebraska	28. Illinois
29. Washington, Oklahoma and Mississippi	29. Nebraska, Oklahoma
30. Kansas and Illinois	30. Washington, Mississippi
31. North Carolina	31. Kansas, North Carolina
32. Vermont	32. Vermont

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Send All Funds for the Hospitals to the Treasurer,
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

October 5, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

On Record at Last

THE United States Senate voted on the Federal Suffrage Amendment on Tuesday, October 1.

The vote stood:

For the amendment, 53.

DEMOCRATS—Ashurst, Arizona; Chamberlain, Oregon; Culberson, Texas; Gerry, Rhode Island; Gore, Oklahoma; Henderson, Nevada; Johnson, South Dakota; Kendrick, Wyoming; Kirby, Arkansas; Lewis, Illinois; McKellar, Tennessee; Martin, Kentucky, Myers, Montana; Nugent, Idaho; Owen, Oklahoma; Phelan, California; Pittman, Nevada; Ransdell, Louisiana; Robinson, Arkansas; Shafroth, Colorado; Sheppard, Texas; Smith, Arizona; Thomas, Colorado; Thompson, Kansas; Vardaman, Mississippi; Walsh, Montana—26.

REPUBLICANS—Calder, New York; Colt, Rhode Island; Cummins, Iowa; Curtis, Kansas; Fernald, Maine; France, Maryland; Goff, West Virginia; Gronna, North Dakota; Jones, Washington; Kellogg, Minnesota; Kenyon, Iowa; La Follette, Wisconsin; Lenroot, Wisconsin; McCumber, North Dakota; McNary, Oregon; Nelson, Minnesota; New, Indiana; Norris, Nebraska; Page, Vermont; Poindexter, Washington; Smith, Michigan; Smoot, Utah; Sterling, South Dakota; Sutherland, West Virginia; Townsend, Michigan; Warren, Wyoming; Watson, Indiana—27.

Against the Amendment—31.

DEMOCRATS—Bankhead, Alabama; Benet, South Carolina; Fletcher, Florida; Guion, Louisiana; Hardwick, Georgia; Hitchcock, Nebraska; Jones, New Mexico; Martin, Virginia; Overman, North Carolina; Pomerene, Ohio; Reed, Missouri; Saulsbury, Delaware; Shields, Tennessee; Simmons, North Carolina; Smith, Georgia; Smith, Maryland; Smith, South Carolina; Trammell, Florida; Underwood, Alabama; Williams, Mississippi; Wolcott, Delaware—21.

REPUBLICANS—Baird, New Jersey; Brandegee, Connecticut; Dillingham, Vermont; Drew, New Hampshire; Hale, Maine; Lodge, Massachusetts; McLean, Connecticut; Penrose, Pennsylvania; Wadsworth, New York; Weeks, Massachusetts—10.

Not voting because paired with absent Senators: Beckham, Kentucky, and Wilfley, Missouri, (Democrats) 2; Borah, Idaho, and Knox, Pennsylvania (Republicans), 2. Total—4.

Absent—Swanson, Virginia; King, Utah, and Hollis, New Hampshire, (Democrats), 3; Fall, New Mexico; Harding, Ohio; Sherman, Illinois; Johnson, California, and Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (Republicans), 5. Total—8.

The absent Senators were paired so that the full strength of each side was accounted for.

Senator Jones, of New Mexico, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, changed his original aye vote to nay, in order to move reconsideration of the question.

There is the record at last.

For months certain Senators have refused to commit themselves on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Sometimes, to some people, these Senators have held out vague suggestions of probable favorable action on their part. They never for a moment intended to vote for the Amendment, but never for a moment did they intend, if they could prevent it, to let the Amendment come to vote and they themselves be forced to go on record against it. They wanted to dilly-dally. They wanted the vote held off. Most of all they did not want to be recorded as non-supporters of the President.

But the record is written.

They have denied democracy. They have shamed the nation. They have refused the Commander-in-chief of the Army help which he begged of them for the successful prosecution of the war. They have said to him, in effect, "Our judgment is better than yours on this matter. Allow us to decide for you what are essential war measures and what are not. This question of morale of which you make so much means nothing. That spiritual force of which you speak—we never felt it. We don't know what you are talking about. Let's get back to politics. We want to make some more speeches about helping you win the war."

Read their names once more. Count them. Twenty-one Democrats who repudiate the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. Identify the ten Republicans who opposed the War President on a measure that he urged upon them as a war measure. Then read this message from your own President and get ready for more work.

"We are stronger to-day with the right and the President and 62 Senators on our side than we were before. We would rather be defeated with the President and the sixty-two than win with the 34 who voted or paired against our measure. Where the President stood yesterday, the nation will stand to-morrow.

"There is no power on earth that can defeat woman suffrage in this country. We march forward with the same unflinching courage which has sustained the suffragists of America for fifty years. We are glad that the vote was taken. We know now exactly how to place our work."

Cheer up! The fighting is still good.

President Wilson Calls Suffrage Vital Aid to Victory

Tells Senate Granting of Vote to Women Is Necessary to Convince World Our Democracy Is Genuine

PRESIDENT WILSON stepped into the breach of the Senate fight over the woman suffrage resolution on Monday, September 30, and in a personal address in the Senate chamber asked for its passage as a war measure.

The President addressed the Senate as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate:

"The unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in the view not only of our own people and our own consciences, but also in the view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought, as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you.

"I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to apprise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

No Party Issue

"I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved, but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country.

"Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute federal initiative for state initiative, if the early adoption of this measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and if the method of state action proposed in the party platforms of 1916 is impracticable, within any reasonable length of time, if practical at all.

"And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects from which the war is being fought.

"That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you, with solemn earnest for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seem to me.

Professions Not Adequate

"This is a people's war and the people's thinking constitute its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed Democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions.

"Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for, and in this case cerification is asked for—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels. Not by foreign ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they do.

"I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragedy falls.

"They are looking to the great, powerful, famous democracy of the west to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them.

Will Cease to Follow

"If we reject measures like this in ignorant defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us, they will cease to follow or to trust us.

"They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy—seen old governments like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and, as of course, this justice to women, though they had before refused it: the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain to governments as well as to peoples.

"Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours?

"We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right?

"This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—service rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of efforts in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself.

"We shall not only be distrusted, but shall deserve to be distrusted, if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought and action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

Too Noble for Slacking

"The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice. But I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it to them.

"I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war, and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

"Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our own women? Is that trust an asset, or is it not?

"I tell you plainly, as the commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questions, or be shamed as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses—I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

Vital to Right Solution

"And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need them in our vision of affairs, as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world.

"The problems of that time will strike at the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels.

"We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system or life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counselings we shall be only half wise.

Asks Lightened Tasks

"That is my case. This is my appeal. Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ."

Standing With the President

"THOSE who are in close touch with sentiment in the State do not need petitions to prove that Missouri is now favorable to suffrage. Members of Congress who wish to properly represent their constituents cannot do so by opposing this inevitable reform."—St. Louis Republic.

RHODE ISLAND registered 100 per cent on the Federal Amendment by action of the Republican and Democratic parties in their respective conventions at Providence, on September 23 and 24. The two major parties not only endorsed the Federal Amendment by resolutions which were immediately telegraphed to Washington, but they wrote Federal Amendment planks in their platforms, called upon the senators from that state in Congress to vote for the Federal Amendment and pledged their support as political parties to the ratification of the amendment by the legislature.

Some suffrage impressions of the Rhode Island political conventions may be gained from the following story, which the *Woman Citizen* received from Mrs. Jerome M. Fittz, corresponding secretary of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. Mrs. Fittz writes:

"As a spectator at the recent Democratic and Republican conventions, I can declare that Rhode Island men, on the question of Woman Suffrage, have measured up to the machine.

"The idea of woman suffrage has been to some of us for the last fifty years, a sort of host, irrepressible and unbanishable but hypnotic in its influence and awful in its sway. And now in the year of Our Lord 1918 good Rhode Island men have lifted up their voices, declaring that this humbuggery about the distinctions of sex in political consideration has lasted just about long enough. I rejoice that neither party lent itself to sentimental predictions as to the wonders to be accomplished by women. They did not declare that women were going to create cucumbers out of sunbeams or perform feats beyond the pale of human possibilities.

"The Democrats' profession of belief in our cause sounded to me like a Proclamation and Reply—'You are ordered to support woman suffrage.' We shall obey this command to the end.

"The Republicans spoke as those, hospitable to an ideal, and brave enough to summon the factors necessary for the realization of that ideal.

"And as a result the women have not only captured the advanced redoubts, but the men holding the Rhode Island citadel have surrendered and have made terms based on justice, right and an appreciation of American womanhood.

"Every possible courtesy has been shown to Rhode Island women by both Democrats and Republicans. Rhode Island Democrats and Republicans have written a new charter of Liberty for women."

DEMOCRATS and Republicans of Illinois have both adopted strong federal amendment planks in their platforms in their conventions held simultaneously at Springfield, September 20th. Both parties pledged themselves to support ratification when the federal suffrage amendment should be before the Legislature of Illinois.

On the day following the action of the Democratic Party, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, was received by President Wilson at the White House. She carried to the President the Democratic plank adopted at the convention. It read:

"The great task of winning the war has brought woman more prominently to the front. In every one of the movements which have for their purpose aid to the fighters at the front she has played a most important part. In many industries she has taken her place side by side with man and is performing the same tasks.

"These conditions make it of more than ordinary importance that she should possess the same rights, the same privileges and the same opportunity of protecting herself as man. Only by assuring them to her can we be assured that her entrance into many industrial fields will not tend to lower wages and to lead to conditions less favorable than men now enjoy. The worker without a vote has never been able to obtain for himself what the worker with a vote has been able to secure.

"This is only one of the many reasons why woman should enter into the same political rights as man now enjoys.

(Continued on page 382)

Our Own Congressional Record

BEING a faithful transcript of the consideration vouchsafed the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate of the United States of America from the time that it was called before that body on September 26 to the hour that it was disposed of on Tuesday, October 1.

SUFFRAGE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 24.—It is bromidic to say that the clans are gathering, but when you feel that you are saying it for positively the last time, the bromide takes on a certain historic dignity. And, positively, we feel that it is the last time. For the last time the old body-guard is here. For the last time the trains are hourly bringing in women from all parts of the country—women who are leaving war work just long enough to rush in here for this final round-up for suffrage, which also is war work.

Mrs. Catt has been here for weeks. Mrs. Park is always here. So is Mrs. Gardener. Miss Hay is here, proud of the Republicans. Mrs. Dudley of Tennessee is here, confident of the Democrats. Mrs. Travis H. Whitney is here. Mrs. Cunningham and Mrs. Potter and Miss Gearing are here, to represent Texas. Mrs. Trout of Illinois is here. Mrs. Ralph Smith, of Nebraska, is here. Miss Mabel Willard of Massachusetts is here. Indiana is represented by Mrs. Stilwell, Mrs. Edwards and Miss Adah Bush, the latter en route to France in the service of the Y. M. C. A. Both Mrs. Edwards and Miss Bush have given valiant service in the handling of the publicity of the occasion. Mrs. Thompson of Montana is here. Miss Ludington of Connecticut is here. Mrs. Yost of West Virginia is here, Miss Cowles of Virginia is here, Miss Ruth White is here, Mrs. Ess of Missouri is here. Miss Priest of Nevada is here, Mrs. Frank Roessing and Miss Hannah Patterson of Pennsylvania are here. Mrs. Harriman of New York is here—indeed, there are not many states in the Union unrepresented by some one or more prominent women. By Friday Dr. Shaw, of the United States, will be here.

Suffrage House is crowded from roof to cellar. Coming into the offices on the second floor this morning I surprised some comfortable looking bedding on the point of departing from the two long lounges in one of the private offices.

ALL the talk is of victory. We know that we are going to win. The Republicans have said it. The Democrats have said it. The Republicans apparently are prepared to supply not only their half of the sixty-four votes needed, but will have one to spare, thirty-three in all. That will make two-thirds of their total complement—a splendid showing. They cast only forty-four of the ninety-six senatorial votes. Although the Democrats can at this writing muster only thirty votes, they are certain that somebody in the doubtful column on the Democratic side will come over, and save the party from the obloquy of defeating the measure. If the Democrats will give us but thirty-one votes out of their fifty-two, we are safe. We have the sincerest confidence in both sides. We are certain that both will make good to the full extent of the possibilities held out. We are revitalized, remade. The dreadful weariness of the past weeks of suspense is slipping from us. The exhausting demands of our double load of suffrage work and war work are to be lightened. We are to be free to meet the country's call upon us at the identical hour that the Fourth Liberty Loan drive opens. All our women are engaged for that in one way and another. Trying to raise money for the fight for democracy abroad while we fight our own fight for democracy at home! It is too much! What the men can't seem to realize, save for an immortal few, is that our own fight must go on, that we can't stop, that we would be traitors to democracy itself if we stopped. Yet human hands can't hold it all. Human shoulders droop under the load. Worst of all, the spirit sags. But now the end is in sight. We are saved. The bridge to victory has been thrown out. We walk on tiptoe lest we shake a screw loose, but that we shall get safely over we have no doubt.

September 25: This morning some thirty-five of us went to the Hill in the capacity of message-bearers to the United States Senators, a demonstration arranged for by Mrs. Edwards. We assembled in the Caucus Room on the third floor of the Senate Office Building and then went to the office of Vice-President Marshall. Mrs. Catt was at our head and went as far as the Vice-President's office as a message bearer on her own account. It was her assignment to present to him personally some data that had been assembled to show the great popular and political demand for the passage of the amendment. Tired as we are of having to "set forth" things to prove justice and expediency that should be self-evident to any right-minded man, we are rather proud of this summary. In it some of the resolutions passed by political parties are given in detail, notably those calling for the passage of the Amendment by both the Democratic and Republican National Committees. The summary shows also that already the Legislatures of fourteen states have demanded the Amendment's passage; that its passage is called for by planks in the platforms of twenty-six state conventions, Republican and Democratic; in the two states having the largest and third largest electoral vote, New York and Illinois, both party conventions adopted unanimously planks urging immediate and favorable senate action. In Indiana, always a pivotal state, the planks of both Democratic and Republican conventions demand passage and promise state ratification, etc., to follow at once.

IN presenting the material to the Vice-President Mrs. Catt took occasion to remind him of mid-western winters when it was possible to roll up a mighty snowball out of a very small beginning. From a small beginning suffrage had rolled on and on until it had reached its present stupendous vantage point, as shown by the favorable action summarized in the data which she thereupon handed him. The Vice-President shook hands with everybody, said he was glad to see everybody, thanked everybody for complimenting him on his speech of the day before, which nearly everybody had heard and liked, and then we left him to the snowball. Back in the caucus room Mrs. Catt distributed the messages to the chosen message-bearers and the women broke ranks and flitted away to the respective senatorial offices, where they delivered the data either to the senators in person or their secretaries.

Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany of New York has arrived. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, head of the Collegiate Division of the Food Administration and Acting Chairman of the New York State Suffrage Party, is due tomorrow. Mrs. F. Louis Slade, also of New York, head of the Women's Division of the Y. M. C. A., and Vice-chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, is due.

September 26: The Northeast gallery has been assigned to the National Association and one hundred tickets have been issued for the one hundred seats in it. This arrangement does away with the need of getting up before dawn to rush to the Senate, as was literally the case when the House vote came off. We are taking our lunch with us, however, as we shall undoubtedly have to be in our places from ten o'clock or thereabouts until five P. M. Victory is still in the air.

September 26, Night

SENATORS VARDAMAN, of Mississippi, and Ransdell, of Louisiana, made speeches of great dignity and sound logic on the merits of woman suffrage *per se*. Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, not only made a good speech, calculated to dispel the web of illusion with reference to the negro vote of the South, but engaged to good purpose in a running fire of answers to questions from the floor. Senator Thompson, of Kansas, presented an effective analysis of his reasons for voting for the amendment. Senator Owen made a telling pro-amendment contribution by reading into the record what he designated as innumerable evidences of the public approval that has been given "to the proposal that the women shall be treated as human beings and given the right to participate in the election of those who write the law and execute the law."

Those evidences will be found in the forthcoming issue of the Woman Citizen with more and fuller comment on the Senate discussion.

JUDGE WILFLEY, the new Senator from Missouri, spoke briefly and ably. Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, was on his feet again and again to make some point for suffrage.

The antis were not very articulate. Evidently they are saving their ammunition for tomorrow. Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, was one who spoke against the amendment, suffragist though he is, and staunch supporter of the President that he has been heretofore. He takes the stand that as his state has voted against suffrage, he will not represent his constituency if he votes for the amendment. Then there was Senator McCumber, of North Dakota. He came urging that he must vote for the amendment because his state had given him many evidences of its will that he should. Just the same, his state's will did not keep him from making an old-fashioned grandmotherly speech against suffrage *per se*. His way of representing his state seems to be to cast his own vote for what his state wants and then nullify his vote's effect by trying to make one or more votes against what his state wants. But neither his point of view nor that of Senator Pomerene meets the case of Senator Wadsworth, of New York, whose state has voted for suffrage for itself and instructed him to vote for suffrage for the nation. Senator Wadsworth has the light ephemeral touch of the man who won't because he won't. Gracefully leaning against his desk, he made it known that he was anxious to see the question at issue promptly disposed of and wanted to learn just what the program was so that the Senators might know just when the vote was to be taken. It was Key Pittman, of Nevada, who took a hand just then.

"*Mr. Pittman.* Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield to me?

Mr. Jones of New Mexico. I yield.

Mr. Pittman. Mr. President, would the Senator from New York like to fix a day certain to vote, which would allow possibly ten or twelve speeches to be made?

Mr. Wadsworth. I am not representing the Senators who are opposed to the joint resolution.

Mr. Pittman. I thought the Senator was.

Mr. Wadsworth. I am in favor of a vote upon this matter just as soon as possible.

Mr. Pittman. I naturally assumed the Senator was representing some phase of this question; but if he is not, very well.

Mr. Wadsworth. Is there any objection to having a vote upon the joint resolution tomorrow?

Mr. Pittman. I do not see any objection, possibly, except that there are several very able speakers whom I have heard express a desire to discuss this question, and I would suggest that we vote as soon as those speakers have an opportunity to express themselves. It might be well if we entered into a unanimous-consent agreement to vote on some day certain, and then the speakers could arrange their time to suit themselves. Would the Senator favor agreeing on some day certain to vote?

Mr. Wadsworth. I certainly would, and at the earliest possible moment; but if, as the Senator indicates, there are ten or twelve able speeches yet to be made upon this topic, then I ask why the suggestion that we adjourn over tomorrow?

Mr. Pittman. I have not heard that suggestion, except from the Senator from New York.

The Presiding Officer. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi."

Now it is a pity that the dignity of the other *Congressional Record* should not have permitted the inclusion of the concluding remark of the senior Senator from New York. Our own Congressional Record will not be so squeamish. Senator Wadsworth can apparently be classy, if not classic. His final contribution to the situation was:

"There is very little green in the eye of the Senator from New York."

One is glad to be reassured.

We are going to bed tired but still confident—strangely, though, it is now the confidence that one whips one's self into. It isn't spontaneous. What is the matter? Nobody knows. But vague rumors are afloat. Maud Wood Park's face looks a little more resolute. Always a sign that there is a little more fight ahead than we expected.)

September 27, Night

Night indeed! Suddenly, from out a clear sky, came the word that the Republicans were not going to be able to poll but thirty-two votes. That, to be sure, is their full half, but we have had to depend on them to do more than their half. And they cannot persuade Senator Drew to cast his vote in favor! The Democrats had no hope of adding to their thirty votes, save as they might be able to sway some stand-patter into line by the fact that his vote alone stood between the amendment and victory. Following the Republican announcement, the Democrats have made a violent party matter of the situation. Key Pittman has accused the Republicans of bad faith and has thundered out a denunciation of what he called "an effort to kill the Democratic Party in the suffrage states of this country. Reed Smoot has stood his ground unflinchingly on behalf of Republican good faith. To realize the full value of this crisis keep in mind that even with only thirty-two votes the Republicans can go to the country with the showing that they have done their part and that the Democrats have failed in theirs. What Senator Pittman has now accused them of amounts, therefore, to just this: bringing about a situation that was bound to result in a party advantage to them and disadvantage to the Democrats. Suffrage has somehow become subordinate while this game of political battledore and shuttlecock runs its course.

Non-partisans that we are, with friends on both sides of the floor in whom we have rested our last reliance, what are we to think, to whom turn! Seldom in the history of the Senate have cards been so frankly laid on the table in the political game. Charges of Republican deception, of using the women as cats-paws, candid revelation of the weakness under which the Democratic Party labors all came in a fiery torrent from Senator Pittman's lips. In order that *Woman Citizen* readers may get the whole story without prejudice or favor, our Congressional Record will now yield place to the other *Congressional Record*. But you will never get from the printed page the intensity of the moment, the insupportable suspense, and the impassioned zeal of the principal speaker, Pittman.

First setting forth that Senator Jones, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, had three times been induced to bring the suffrage resolution before the Senate under the belief, and the reasonable belief, that there would be sufficient votes to pass it, and three times had found that to press it meant to kill it,

Senator Pittman said that again and again the Democrats had been accused of obstructing a vote on the amendment. In Republican campaigns throughout the suffrage states again and again the argument had been used that not only was the committee, a majority of whom are Democrats, obstructing this vote, "but that the President of the United States himself was responsible for the obstruction of it. To a country not familiar with the circumstances that argument was exceedingly appealing. I confess now that it was having its effect as a campaign argument.

"Why did not the committee bring in this joint resolution? Because the Democratic members of the committee had only one object in view, and that was to pass the suffrage amendment; and there were some others in this body who had only a political object in view. Twice the chairman of this committee and the Democratic members of it were deceived into bringing this question before this body. The Republican caucus is in favor of a vote. They are in favor of a vote to-day when we have not enough votes to pass it, and we who are sincere in the matter are not in favor of a vote to-day when we cannot pass it, because our object is to pass it. A third time after the passage of the resolution——"

At this point Mr. Poindexter interrupted to make points for the Republicans. When Mr. Pittman got the floor again, he said:

"Now, let me proceed a little further in the matter. The President of the United States has publicly stated why he considers the passage of this amendment of so grave importance during this time of war. He has taken the same grounds that have been taken in England. In conservative old England, where they fought equal suffrage most tenaciously, it came in a flash; it came almost unanimously; and it came by reason of the abnormal conditions that demanded at the time that there be universal equality of mind and of action, that the women of England, who had taken the men's places in England while the men fought in France, should have all of the rights and privileges of the men. The President has taken the same ground. He has taken the ground that war has made it absolutely necessary to pass this amendment. But I am getting off the subject a little bit.

The Senator from Washington says a larger majority on the other side are in favor of this measure than on the Democratic side. Yes; but they have not the obstacles in their ranks that we have in our ranks. The Members on the Republican side have not the sentimental nor the social conditions meeting them in their States that are meeting some of our Members on this side. They have the power to give their full vote if they want to. There never was a time when the leaders of that party, if they had wanted to pass the joint resolution, could not have given 35 or 40 votes for it, and that without affecting them in any way whatever.

But what happened? Why is this resolution before this body at the present time in this critical condition? It is in a critical condition; there is no disguising the fact; and yet the leaders on the Republican side have this day said to those in charge of the joint resolution on this side. 'If we are going to be beaten anyway, we might as well vote today and be beaten.' When that assertion was made I happened to be present, and I said, 'It will not be beaten; we shall not vote on it today if we are going to lose it today.' No. I am not that kind of a suffragist; I have not that kind of sincerity. I shall not pledge myself to bring it to a vote knowing at the time, from the poll I have in my possession, that when it is brought to a vote it will be killed.

That was a magnificent resolution of the Republican caucus that they would do everything to bring this joint resolution to a vote immediately, knowing from the poll, as I said before, that it would be killed when they brought it up. Why did you pass the resolution? Why did you want to bring it up and defeat it? What would be the result of that defeat? The campaign that the adjunct of your party is making through the suffrage states would be confirmed. That is what would happen. You would give your 32 votes; you would give half of your two-thirds; and you would hold your hand on high and say, 'We gave you the necessary votes, but the Democrats did not do it.' We know that.

Mr. Smoot: Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. Pittman: Yes; I yield.

Mr. Smoot: Of course, I am utterly surprised at what the Senator says.

Mr. Pittman: I thought the Senator from Utah would be.

"As disfranchisement always has degraded men, socially, morally and industrially, so today it is disfranchisement that degrades women in the same spheres."

S. B. ANTHONY.

Mr. Smoot: But I want to make a proposition to the Senator: There are 44 Republican Senators and there are 52 Democratic Senators. If the Senator wants a vote today, tomorrow, or on any other day he may desire, the Republicans will, out of the 44 Republicans, cast 32 votes today or on any other day——

Mr. Pittman: That is just what I am getting at.

Mr. Smoot: If you will give the 32 votes out of 52 Democrats. We can then vote, and we shall then have 64 votes. I want to say to the Senator that he is doing an absolute injustice to the men who have been fighting for years and years for woman suffrage on the Republican side when he says that there is no intention whatever of forcing this joint resolution to a vote. I ask the Senator who has the joint resolution in charge——

Mr. Pittman: Mr. President, I object to being interrupted in my speech by the Senator asking questions of other Senators.

Mr. Smoot: Then I will do it in my own time.

Mr. Pittman: I shall be very glad if the Senator from Utah will take all of the time that he wants; but he will have to take a lot of it before he gets through with this. I am, however, very happy that the Senator has now definitely settled one question in our minds—that the Republican party are only going to give us 32 votes. Do Senators know why the Republicans will only give 32 votes? It is because 32 are just half of 64—just half of two-thirds—and the Republicans clear their skirts when they know that this side has but 31 votes. Let me tell you something else, for that is not all——

Mr. Poindexter: Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. Pittman: Yes, I yield.

Mr. Poindexter: The Senator from Nevada is not bragging about the fact that his side has only 31 votes in favor of this joint resolution, is he?

Mr. Pittman: I am not bragging about anything today, not even about the Republican party; I do not think there is any ground for bragging. Between you and me, I will say to the Senator from Washington I do not think it is a matter of very much levity. It is rather a good joke to those who thoroughly enjoy it; it is a magnificent joke upon the leading suffrage women of the country who depended on you; it is a splendid joke on them. Why, you have done wonders! You have brought the joint resolution forward for defeat!"

Mr. Smoot presently tried to settle the question in this wise:

"*Mr. Smoot.* In order to settle this question, I want to say to the Senator from Nevada that the chairman of the committee has it in his power to say whether we shall adjourn to-day; whether we shall adjourn until Monday; whether the joint resolution be laid aside; or whether it shall be taken up. I tell the Senator now that, whatever motion Senator Jones makes, whatever he thinks is the best policy, whether to carry this resolution to a vote or to delay it, he shall be furnished with more votes upon this side to follow his program than he can get on his own side."

Yet just a little later, Senator Pittman was again declaring that Senator Smoot knew that if he gave us 32 votes and we voted today we would lose this amendment; and yet the Senator from Utah in conference with us this morning said it had been suggested that we vote today, and that if we were going to be beaten we might as well be beaten now.

"*Mr. Smoot.* That suggestion came from a Democratic leader on this floor.

Mr. Pittman. But the Senator said the suggestion had been made.

Mr. Smoot. I did; and I say now that it was made, and that it came from a Democratic leader.

Mr. Pittman. I never heard that it came from anyone except the Senator from Utah. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Curtis] was with him at the time, and I made this statement. I said: 'I will never agree to a vote on this joint resolution when we lack the requisite number unless there is every fair opportunity to get those in favor of it here.'

Mr. Smoot. Why does not the Senator state what the Senator from Utah did say? If he is going to try to tell the conversation the Senator should tell it all. I will tell the Senate what I said, and I will ask the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Jones] if it is not true. I said: 'I have always taken the position that I would not attempt to force a vote until I knew there were enough votes to carry the joint resolution,' and I stated that what I wanted was to secure all the time possible to see if we could secure enough votes to carry the proposed constitutional amendment through before a vote was taken.

Mr. Pittman. The Senator did say that after he had said what I did say he said, and after I said what I have stated.

Now, let me go on a little further. How does it happen that this matter is now before the Senate for consideration? I will tell you how it happened. Listen to this:

The Senator from Utah, who has told us that the Republican side has but 32 votes and that he knows what the poll on this side is, tells us that he knows the joint resolution will be defeated if brought to a vote at this time. Let me tell you what the Senator from Utah knows further than that. He knows why this matter is here to-day; he knows why the Members on the Democratic side of the Senate who are in favor of suffrage are in embarrassment today. Nobody understands it better. Why? Because he knew just how many votes it would be necessary to have on the Republican side to carry this joint resolution through at all times, and he told Miss Hay, a member of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, who served on a committee to discuss suffrage with the Republican Members of this body, that they would give them 33 votes; and then that association, headed by Mrs. Catt, invited the Democratic members of the Suffrage Committee of this body, together with one or two other Senators, to confer with them. They then urged upon the chairman that he bring the suffrage amendment before the Senate. The chairman said:

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I have brought it twice before the Senate under misinformation; I have twice subjected it to defeat on account of misinformation. We have not the votes to pass the amendment, and it is a crime to bring it up to kill it. We may get the votes later, but we have no right, after the joint resolution has passed the House, to kill it in the Senate so long as there is a chance to save it. I will not bring it up until I believe I can carry it; and I do not care how many attacks the Woman's Party make on me; that does not concern me. I am for passing this amendment and not for killing it.

It was then——

Mr. Poindexter: Mr. President——

Mr. Pittman: Wait until I finish this statement. I do not want to be interrupted now.

It was then, by reason of the statement of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Jones], that those ladies stated, 'If we can assure you 33 Republican votes, will you bring the joint resolution up?' We replied, 'Yes.' Why? Because, although we had not enough with the 33, we believed that we might get two more votes. They said then, 'We feel at liberty to say to you that Senator Smoot, on behalf of the Republican Senators, has come to our committee through Miss Hay and assured us that the Republicans are ready to deliver 33 votes. We then asked for the names, to give us the poll, but they said they would not give us the poll; they said, 'Leave that to us, and we will deliver the 33 votes.'

That is the way we left it; and under that assurance we brought this amendment before this body. Then, after we had been deceived into bringing it before this body, after we had been led into the trap, the distinguished Senator from Utah goes to the same people to whom he promised 33 votes and says, 'We can get only 32.' Why did he do that? Why did he promise 33? Because the 33 votes, with the votes that the Democrats then had, would still defeat the amendment. Why did he come down to 32 votes? Because we gained enough with the 33 to pass the amendment. What other conclusion is there to be drawn?

Mr. Smoot: Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. Pittman: Yes, I yield.

Mr. Smoot: Mr. President, the Senator is stating supposed facts that I have never heard of before. I know nothing about them; and I want to say to the Senator now that, as far as the 33 votes are concerned, there was always a question of doubt as to one vote, and it has been always so understood by me, and I have never made a statement to the contrary. If the Senator wants to know the doubtful vote, I do not think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Drew] will object to my stating the facts. I want to say that the Senator from New Hampshire has never promised me that he would vote for the amendment, and, as far as that is concerned, I want to say now that I do not believe he promised anyone that he would vote for or against it. I will say, however, that, as far as I am concerned, he never promised me that he would vote for it.

Mr. Reed: Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. Reed: I want to ask the Senator who has just taken his seat——

Mr. Pittman: If the Senator pleases, I can not yield. I will take my seat in five minutes, and then the Senator can talk all he wants to. I beg the pardon of the Senator from Missouri, but I want to get through.

The Senator from Utah may have had doubt in his mind with regard to the Senator from New Hampshire. Undoubtedly, however, the women who induced us to bring this matter to a vote did not have any doubt about the doubt of the Senator from Utah, or they would have expressed the doubt to us. As a matter of fact, one of the ladies charged the Senator from Utah in the Marble Room yesterday with having pledged 33 votes and not giving them a poll so that they could use their own judgment, and the Senator from Utah said at the time he made the promise he thought he had them.

Now, then, if the Senator had any doubt about the Senator from New Hampshire, and he was going to a great suffrage association in this country through one of their committees, he had no right to make the assurance in a positive manner, and if the Senator with regard to whom he had the doubt, who was necessary to make up the 33, was in his mind, he should have submitted that name to the ladies and said, 'This is the only doubtful one of the 33,' and let them make their own investigations concerning him. But he did not do that. He did not give them the poll. He did not tell them who they were. You, Senator Smoot, pledged them 33 votes, so that they would induce the Democratic members of the committee to get this bill on the floor and you could kill it, and

then you could make campaign material out of it in the Western States. You knew that through that action you could carry Montana and Colorado and that you could probably carry the Senate. You know that. You, from a suffrage State, know that if you kill this amendment by a Democratic vote, giving one-half of the two-thirds yourselves and one less than half of two-thirds on this side, you will sweep those states with the women's votes. Do you want to do it? What would you do to do it? How much would you give, politically, to do it? Would you rather do that, or pass this amendment?

Mr. Smoot. Mr. President, since the Senator is asking me, I will say that I would not act as has the Senator from Nevada to-day to accomplish a political advantage if I had it in my power, and the Senator has made some statements that I can truthfully say that he is mistaken.

Mr. Pittman. I do not know what the statements are in which I am mistaken. If any particular ones are pointed out, I will adduce proof in substantiation of them. All I have to say is that I was deceived with that committee. I know that those ladies did not intend to deceive us. They are too high class for that. They understood our position. They knew that we would not bring the matter here until we had a certainty of 33 votes on the Republican side, and they gave us that assurance, and stated that they got that assurance from the Senator from Utah.

Mr. Smoot. Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. Pittman. I do.

Mr. Smoot. If the Senator wants this resolution put back in just the same position that it was and does not want a vote upon it, all he has to do is to move to refer it back to the committee, and it will carry. It will not be considered at all or a vote taken upon it until the chairman of the committee wants it done; and it seems to me that this camouflage that the Senator is trying to put over on the Senate and the country is unwise and uncalled for.

Mr. Pittman. Yes; and then if we should move to refer it back to the committee the Senator from Utah would say again. 'The Democrats are obstructing the passage of this amendment. They will not let me consider it, but refer it back to a committee. We told you all the time they wanted to kill it. When they pretty nearly had it won they referred it back to the committee.' When we want to postpone it a day he says, 'If it is going to be beaten, why, let it be beaten today.'

Oh, the whole thing is as plain as day. It is absolutely plain. The facts are here. They dovetail into each other. The written statements demonstrate everything in this case, and I, for one, wanted it known on my behalf that I have been deceived by somebody, and I have stated the facts of the deception. Let them trace where they will. I would not have voted to bring this matter on the floor in the circumstances in which it is now here, and I do not want anyone in my state to say that I was a party to the murder of this suffrage amendment. I wanted them to know the facts, and know them well, and I am telling them here so that the country may know. It is an effort to kill the Democratic Party in the suffrage states of this country.

Mr. Lenroot. Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. Pittman. I yield.

Mr. Lenroot. Do I understand the Senator's position to be, then, that rather than have this joint resolution referred back to the committee he would prefer a vote, either to-morrow or Monday, and its defeat, because a reference back to the committee would hurt his party?

Mr. Pittman. No; the Senator does not understand that. He did not understand it when he asked the question. The Senator knows that I am sincerely in favor of suffrage, as much as he is, and he knows that the only thing that is moving the Senator from Nevada here is the critical condition in which this joint resolution now is.

If we refer it back to the committee, then we will be charged, as we have been all the time in the suffrage states, with trying to prevent a vote on it, and still the Woman's Party campaign will go on as it is going on now; and if we vote on it they will say: 'We told you the Democrats would kill it, because the President would not make 32 on his side vote for it.'

What you have accomplished is this: You have got this joint resolution before the Senate through a deception, and you have got the Democratic Party in an embarrassing position, no matter how it goes; but I, for one, am not

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willing to give up. I am not willing to vote to-day, when I know we are beaten. I am not willing to refer the joint resolution back to the committee when there is hope of winning the fight to-morrow, and I am not willing to-morrow to refer it back to the committee or to have it killed. I believe that when the country knows and understands that this is politics—pure, cold-blooded politics—they will realize that their views on suffrage are insignificant in comparison to the importance of meeting such a subterfuge by a united Democratic Party.

Mr. Poindexter. Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. Pittman. I yield.

Mr. Poindexter. The Senator from Nevada expresses vehement indignation because he has been imposed upon and deceived. I should like the Senator, before he takes his seat, to tell the Senate when he found out that he was deceived and how he got the information which he now has as to how the vote stands. He said that the Senator from Utah misled him. I should like to know who disillusioned him and whether or not he has any information or any means of information as to the vote on this measure now that he did not have at all times heretofore.

Mr. Pittman. I thank the Senator for asking the question. None of the committee knew anything about the change until yesterday. Not one of them, until after this matter had been debated here on the floor, knew a word about it. The same ladies who were used to deceive us felt it their duty to come and undeceive us; that is all.

Mr. Poindexter. The Senator, then, as I understand, charges that some of the women leaders of the suffrage movement were used as tools and go-betweens to misrepresent the situation to the Senator from Nevada and deceive him.

Mr. Pittman. Well, that would be the appearance of things. I cannot see any other light it is in, but that is the way it looks.

Mr. Poindexter. I just asked the question in order that there might not be any doubt or mistake as to the attitude of the Senator from Nevada. I think the country ought to know just what position he takes in regard to it.

Another thing that I should like the Senator to answer, if he will allow me to ask him one more question, is whether or not he thinks that the injection of this political issue here is going to help the adoption of this amendment?

The Senator claims to be a sincere friend of the amendment. He knows that there are a number of votes in doubt on both sides of the Chamber. He now has aligned this matter upon a partisan basis. Does he think that that will tend to bring these doubtful Republican votes or doubtful Democratic votes to a support of this measure? Does he think that he is aiding the cause of suffrage by the speech he is making?

Mr. Pittman. The Senator from Nevada thinks he is aiding this movement. Although I would have a right, on the ground of personal privilege, to explain my connection with bringing this matter before the Senate, that would not have induced me to do so. I believe that there are Democrats on this side of the Chamber, who are opposed to the whole theory involved in this joint resolution, who will not stand idly by and see a political trick perpetrated on their party, especially to such an extent that it may turn over the control of this body to another party. They know how important it is for the President of the United States to be in perfect harmony with both bodies of Congress. I know that you gentlemen are loyal. Nobody is charging disloyalty on your part. You are just as loyal as we are; but there is not a man here who does not know that a divided Government is not as strong as a united Government. There is none of you but that knows that you cannot have the same independent leadership unless every branch of the Government is in absolute accord, both mentally and politically, with the chief. You have got to have united command in government during war, just the same as in your Army. We have it in the army on the west front. We have it to-day in the United States. In fact, we have it to-day in the world, because the President of the United States is the united commander of the Governments of the world that are fighting this war. That is the reason of it. We are going to keep this Government united behind the President until this war is over, at least; and when we see a trick—a trick that may defeat that end—it is our duty as Senators on this floor to expose that trick, and I have done it."

Then up rose the senior Senator from Missouri, Mr. Reed, his fastidious soul stirred all

around the periphery by the thought that women, with the vital stake of political liberty at issue, should dare come to the United States Senators to voice demand or protest. Mr. Reed is that one of the Senators who loves to put woman on a pedestal and then amuse himself with slinging mud at the woman while carefully saving the pedestal.

Some of what he said will be reprinted later for the information of women in general, and Missouri women in particular, and we shall print as well Senator Lewis' remarkable reply to him.

Senator Thomas, of Colorado, closed the day's record of speech-making at the very end. Senator Shafroth, in a little political by-play, scored roundly against Senator Martin, of Virginia, Democratic floor leader and rabid anti. For some minutes Senator Martin had been trying to secure adjournment over Saturday. Read it in the *Record:*

"*Mr. Martin*, of Virginia. I make the motion that the Senate now adjourn until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday.

Mr. Pittman. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Shafroth. Mr. President——

Mr. Martin.. Mr. President——

Mr. Martin, of Virginia. I cannot yield any further.

Mr. Shafroth. On Monday more Senators may be away——

Mr. Martin, of Virginia. There is no use, Mr. President——

The Presiding Officer. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. Pittman. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Shafroth. I move that the Senate adjourn."

Now, my children, do you know your parliamentary rules? Of course you do. And knowing them you are not surprised to hear the voice of the Presiding Officer boom out: The Senator from Virginia has moved that the Senate adjourn until Monday. The Senator from Colorado moves that the Senate do now adjourn, which motion takes precedence over the motion of the Senator from Virginia. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Colorado.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, September 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

What will to-morrow bring forth?

SEPTEMBER 28, MORNING

Curious how it has brought the women together! You cannot separate women on the old party lines. You cannot submerge their ideals in party politics. It was as if for just one moment we stood looking across at one another as Democrats and Republicans, wondering, questioning. Then one and all seemed to be informed with a new consciousness of how little we care about being Democrats and Republicans, how much we care about the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Quite noiselessly the thing happened—we merged and stood in the old line-up as one woman, for the amendment, against all partisan politics.

SEPTEMBER 28, EVENING

Another day signalized by another war of words between Smoot and Pittman.

Senator Benet, of South Carolina, heretofore counted as favorable, reopened the consideration of our question by taking his stand with the opposition. Like Baird, of New Jersey, and Shields, of Tennessee, he would vote for it if he considered it essential as a war measure—and, like them, he goes to great pains not so to consider it.

He was hardly in his seat before Senator Smoot, of Utah, was on his feet on the Republican side. Here let the other *Record* speak for itself again:

"*Mr. Smoot.* Mr. President, after listening to the remarks just made by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Benet] I feel it my duty to correct a statement I made of the Record yesterday when the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman] was trying to play politics with the question before the Senate.

Yesterday the Senator from Nevada asked me this question:

Did not the Senator from Utah know the number of votes the Democrats on this side had polled for the suffrage amendment?

Mr. Smoot. Of course the Senator from Utah knew that.

Mr. Pittman. Of course the Senator from Utah knew; and the Senator from Utah knows to-day how the poll stands on the Democratic side.

Mr. Smoot. I do.

Mr. President, I want to say that I was in error in the statement that I made yesterday. I wonder where the Senator from Nevada is now. I wonder if he now will undertake to say that the members——

Mr. Henderson. Mr. President, I have just sent for the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. Jones of New Mexico. Mr. President, in view of the inquiry of the Senator from Utah, I suggest that he withhold his remarks until the Senator from Nevada can reach the Chamber. I have no doubt that he is accessible and will be here in just a moment.

Mr. Smoot. I will say to the Senator that my remarks will be very brief.

Yesterday the Senator tried to make it appear that I in particular, and other Republicans who favored woman suffrage, had deceived him; that they had played a trick for political purposes. Who is responsible for this change in the poll of the Democrats, made necessary by the remarks of Senator Benet? I want to say that the statement I made yesterday was based upon the word of not one Democratic Member, but a number of Democratic Members; that there were 31 votes upon that side of the Chamber for the amendment. I wish to say that I have the Democratic poll in my pocket, and as I have, I now make the statements that I do.

Mr. Smith of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. Smoot. Certainly.

Mr. Smith of South Carolina. My colleague [Mr. Benet] has just made a speech. I wish to suggest that while he may have been included in that poll, I was ignorant of his view from the beginning, and in justice to him I want to state that he had never said to any man until this morning where he stood on this matter, and no one had a right to count him in for it or against it.

Mr. Smoot. I thank the Senator for the statement that he has made, and I believe it with all my heart. In fact, I have heard it stated a number of times that the Senator has never stated to a soul that he was for or against the amendment; and I want to say to the Senator from South Carolina that there is no feeling on my part against the position which his colleague has taken to-day. I simply wanted, first, to correct the statement that I made yesterday, and state that it was based directly upon the statement of the Senator from Nevada.

I did intend yesterday to answer the Senator from Nevada, but I think it is useless to do so. I think that the debate that was indulged in yesterday was unfortunate, it was unwise, it was uncalled for, and it was unjust; but I was sorry yesterday that the Senator from Nevada had undertaken to drag into this question the question of politics when he knew that there was not a man on that side of the Chamber or this side of the Chamber who was in favor of the woman suffrage amendment who had any thought of politics in his mind. I say now that if the amendment is ever carried in the Senate of the United States it will be carried upon the merits of the question and not upon the question as how politics may be affected by it.

I simply wanted to say that much, Mr. President, at this time. It is unfortunate, of course, that we have not the votes to carry this amendment. I am disappointed; yet I am quite sure that Senators are going to vote their sentiments upon this question, whether they be for it or whether they be against it, and will vote what they think to be just and right."

Sectional feeling and race prejudice were played upon in sinister fashion by Hardwick of Georgia and met fearlessly by Vardaman, of Mississippi. There were interruptions on account of agricultural appropriations and on account of the Spanish influenza, and by and by Key Pittman was back in his seat again challenging Republican good faith. First he quoted Senator Smoot's remarks of an earlier hour and let fly another defy on the strength of it. Senator Smoot had said, it will be recalled:

"Yesterday the Senator tried to make it appear that I in particular and the other Republicans who favor woman suffrage had deceived him; that they had played a trick for political purposes. I want to say that the statement I made yesterday was based upon the word of not one Democratic member, but a number of Democratic members that there were 31 votes upon that side of the Chamber for the amendment."

"Where are we now?" cried Mr. Pittman. "Senator Smoot believed, as he said in that statement, that there were 31 votes on this side of the Chamber for the amendment. Then he knew it would take 33 votes to pass it. When he knew it would take 33 votes to pass it, he said they only had 32. I am happy to know that Senator Smoot believed that.

There is another thing that Senator Smoot believes and will admit, that Mr. Benet, whom we believed we had with us, was an addition to the number we could possibly count at the time the Republicans passed the resolution in caucus. In other words, when Senator Smoot in the caucus of the Republican party on August 24 voted to bring the joint resolution to a vote at once he knew that the Democrats did not have to exceed 30 votes, and he now says he was not certain of more than 32 Republican votes and hoped to get 33. In other words, Senator Smoot voted on August 24 in caucus to bring a

measure to a vote that he knew did not have the votes to pass."

But it wasn't all party politics. An outstanding and redeeming feature was John F. Shafroth. Much of the beauty and the majesty of the ideal might have been consumed in the fire of politics save for him. With sterling honesty, with rugged insistence, he matched red flame with white. Get into fundamentals, he kept insisting, it's a great question of justice and right that is before you—"principles," "rights," "fairness," "the truth"—those were the words that rang through his speech, that was the plane on which he besought favorable action on woman suffrage.

And there was a fine display of idealism when Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin got the floor and read into the *Record* without bias the resolutions of both the Republican and Democratic state conventions of Wisconsin.

MIDNIGHT

Hope seems lost. There are 62 votes for us. Two men stand between America and her full democratization. Our friends on both sides of the Chamber seem to despair. We ourselves are very low in our minds. There is only one man in America who may be able to help now. He has helped many times before. We are about resolved to take our case to him in one last appeal tomorrow.

SEPTEMBER 29

The appeal is on its way from Mrs. Catt to President Wilson. Among other things she said:

"The country and especially the women recognize the need of constant direction of thought and feeling upward and onward. Our country is asking its women to give their all, and upon their voluntary and free offering may depend the outcome of the war. If the Amendment fails, it will take the heart out of thousands of women, and it will be no solace to tell them that 'it is coming.' It will arouse in them a just suspicion that men and women are not co-workers for world freedom, but that women are regarded as mere servitors with no interest or rightful voice in the outcome. The leaders in women's work in the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Liberty Loan, Food, are almost without exception women who have been trained to their work in our Association, so that my statement is no idle claim—these women by the thousands feel as we here in Washington feel. If the Amendment wins, it will revitalize women, put new fire and fervor in all they do, enable them to do more.

We hope that you who have proved yourself a miracle worker on many occasions may be able to produce another wonder on Monday—the wonder of putting vision where there was none before."

SEPTEMBER 30

Months ago some of us began insisting that if the President were to address the Senate directly it would have vital effect on those Senators who refused to see in suffrage a war measure. In August, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, who has long acted as the White House representative of the National Association, sent a letter to President Wilson in which she said:

"If you could feel that the time has come for you to say to Senate and country some of the splendid things you have said to individuals—with the clarity of diction that is yours—it seems to me that even if we fall one or two votes short, the reaction will surely put those voting against it in an indefensible position 'back home,' and place you and the whole question before the world in the clear light where none can misunderstand."

She was encouraged to do this because she knew exactly what the President had done in a personal and private way in behalf of the amendment. She had been privileged to see the correspondence he had carried on with various Senators, and she knew directly from him that if the personal and private efforts failed he was prepared to use other measures.

To Mrs. Gardener's August letter he replied:

"You may be sure that the suggestions contained in your letter of August 16th will sink in my mind, and that I will keep my eye open for suitable occasions when I may either in the way you suggest or in some other way be influential in bringing about the result we both desire."

IN THE SENATE

It must have been about 12:15 when the Democatic floor leader, Mr. Martin of Virginia, announced that the President desired to address the Senate at 1 o'clock. Then came the secretary's voice announcing that a committee was to escort the President of the United States to the Senate Chamber at 1 o'clock.

Two fine suffrage speeches were made in the interim, one by Senator Jones of Washington (Rep.), the other by Senator Walsh of Montana (Dem.). Both will be quoted extensively in forthcoming issues of the *Woman Citizen*.

It being nearly the hour of 1 o'clock members of the President's Cabinet came in and were escorted to seats assigned to them. Among them were two of the best friends suffrage ever had, Secretary McAdoo and Secretary Daniels.

As the clock hands pointed to 1, the audience rose en masse, save for one man—Reed of Missouri—and the President of the United States entered. It is not often that a President has addressed the legislative bodies of the United States. Washington is reputed to have done it. Wilson has done it before. As Senator Phelan of California later pointed out, any President of the United States is well within his prerogative in doing it. In coming before the Senate in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment President Wilson ran, and knew that he ran, grave risk of being repudiated by the minority of his own party and by the minority of the Republicans, both of whom love to give him lip service as the commander-in-chief of America's war forces and war resources. But Wilson is the sort of man who will take a risk to make a right. Simply, directly, with no flowers of rhetoric and no fire of oratory, as man to man, and speaking more solemnly than even he is wont to speak, he put before them the matchless case and the deathless appeal that are to be found verbatim on another page.

He spoke in spiritual terms to materialists of the densest type. He spoke of "thinking," of "morale," of the "magic of the spirit," of "vision." And he spoke to opponents who know buying and selling, who know "politics," who know sectionalism and prejudice. He spoke as a democrat, and to the Bourbons and Tories below him he might as well have talked in Greek. They faced him in a stolid apathy, on whose sluggish current they will pass into history as the Bonehead Brigade.

(*Continued on page 377*)

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Not a Usual Romance

Part II.

ADELA did not seem to need a doctor any more. The town's re-established interest, her own re-established identity were tonic to her.

"HE'S been sick, he's been sick, that's why he hasn't written!" cried Adela to Mamie, and spent most of that day writing to Mr. Crawley. She had an answer from him within forty-eight hours—"Ev' bit as fat as hers to him," announced Mr. Bowler. After the reconciliation Adela did not go back to Dr. Claflin She did not seem to need a doctor any more The town's re-established interest, her own re-established identity were tonic to her.

But Adela had had a lesson. Some unsuspected quality had been developed in her by the town's stand-offishness during the slow weeks when Mr. Crawley had been off the horizon. Now that she had the advantage again she did not again put herself in the town's hands with her old unreserve. Instead, she developed little reticences and a disposition to defend by teasing silences such privacy as was still left her with regard to Mr. Crawley; and she showed quick-flaring and quick-tongued resentments if, led on by her earlier frankness, anyone pressed too far into her confidence.

But there was one man in Wearing whose hunger for facts on which to base opinions had to be satisfied. In his position as postmaster, he was better able to satisfy it than were people less favored by circumstances. "Wish you'd just look up that there Edgar Crawley in the directory," he suggested in late summer, to the Chicago drummer who came to Wearing in Februarys and Augusts. "And you drop me a line." The drummer, his eyes twinkling, promised. He had heard Adela's story in February and as a city man he had his own suspicions as to Mr. Crawley's probable overstatement of his case.

The information that the Chicago drummer reported, hot from the city directory, scorched Wearing. All sorts of hypotheses followed in its wake. It was generally agreed that it was time to do something. Things couldn't go on so haphazardly. Mr. Stringer or Jim Parks would have to go up to Chicago and look into matters, of that Wearing assured itself.

THIS was what the drummer reported: "There are three E. Crawleys. Edwin C. is in secondhand clothes business. Edgar S. is a piano-tuner. The only lawyer is down as E. S. Has office in Monadnock Building. Lives at Oak Park with wife and child. Has reputation of being gay boy."

"You fond of music, ain't you, Miss Adela?" adventured Mr. Bowler, when Adela came in for her mail that day.

"Adore it," said Adela, with the abandon that distinguished most of her utterances when she anticipated that a fellow townsman was about to put her on her mettle with some question that involved Mr. Crawley.

"You and Mr. Crawley got similar tastes, I take it? He musical, too?"

"It's life to him," responded Adela.

In retailing the conversation afterward, Mr. Bowler said it was his candid 'pinion that Adela should have said a living where she said life. His judgment had fastened, with its customary frank infallibility, upon the piano-tuner.

But there were others who were worrying about the "gay boy" and they went more or less diplomatically to Jim Parks.

"Adela," said Jim Parks, the night of the day that the news from the Chicago city directory broke in Wearing, "I'm thinking about going up to Chicago pretty soon. Wish you'd give me the address of your Mr. Crawley."

"All right," responded Adela promptly. "I'd be glad for you to meet him. He lives at the Chicago Beach mostly. You let me know exactly when you are going so I can get him to arrange to be in town."

But before Jim could get far with his project of going to Chicago there came a smashing blow to Adela's romance. Mr. Crawley had had a relapse and had been taken to the hospital. There was a short letter and following that a telegram which said, "double pneumonia, love; come if you can." It was signed Edgar.

Like many apparently soft women, Adela, backed into a corner by a pursuing fate, developed a certain stiffness of the spinal column with which she had never been credited. The Stringer household fell back before her complete ability to manage her own affairs. "No, I don't need any help with my packing, Mamie—I'd rather look after the ticket myself, Jim—Yes, I'll have plenty of time to get the money from the bank, papa—I want to look after everything myself, thank you." There was no hitch in her arrangements, either. The family came to the station with her and each one separately marveled at her alert capability. "I wouldn't have you go with me for anything, Jim," she said with utter finality to Jim's last lame effort to act as escort. She was visible, sitting erect as a ramrod as the train pulled out of the Wearing station.

IT was his happy fate to pass into local history as the most loved and lamented bridegroom ever known in Wearing. Men envied him for the amount of attention bestowed upon him.

"'FIND myself,'" murmured Adela. "Where am I to look? I am buried under unreal things."

It must have been just as she was arriving in Chicago that the next telegram came for her. It was telephoned to the house and Mamie took the message: "Edgar Crawley near death; your name constantly on his lips." It was signed S. P. Morton. The next telegram was from Adela herself. "Married Edgar; starting home with body; meet four o'clock tomorrow."

Brought into Wearing in his coffin though he was, Edgar Crawley took a live place in the town's regard. It was his happy fate to pass into local history as the most loved and lamented bridegroom ever known in Wearing. Mr. Bowler's insistence on the piano-tuner was withdrawn. The "gay boy" hypothesis was forsaken shame-facedly. Few men, even after long and upright lives devoted to communal affairs, leave behind them so stimulating a train of memories as did Mr. Crawley. Men envied him for the amount of attention bestowed upon him. The few who had not had the privilege of viewing "the remains" in the Stringer parlor on that momentous night when Adela arrived from Chicago, found it necessary to pretend that they had. Not to have seen them put one virtually beyond the pale of Wearing. Nearly everybody in Wearing could recall, too, having seen Adela at Mr. Crawley's coffin. "Never was a man so taken on over as he was. Not that Miss Adela, Mrs. Crawley as is, was noisy 'tall. But she felt it. You could see that."

As a matter of fact, nobody had seen Adela at Mr. Crawley's coffin. She had insisted upon going in unattended except by Dr. Claflin and Dr. Claflin had looked away. It was true that Adela was not noisy in her grief. That grief had been admirably contained. Her restraint, her dignity had been impressive. More impressively still, she had, seemingly, stood before the coffin with a sense of the large impersonal significance of death. Raising her dream-burdened eyes from the coffin, she had stared out through the window upon the twilit spaces of Wearing with a new consciousness on her face. "I hope, oh I hope, that it is all right with you, if you know, wherever you are!" she had murmured, her eyes again seeking Mr. Crawley's face. Then she had turned to Dr. Claflin. "It takes death to make life real," she had said, with the utmost quiet.

After the funeral Wearing became convinced that the girl was "going to decline." Certainly she did fall into a peculiarly lax condition. "I am tired. It was a strain," was all she would say.

"YOU are going to be all right as soon as you find yourself, Adela," Dr. Claflin told her one day.

"'Find myself,'" murmured Adela. "Where am I to look? I am buried under unreal things."

"It was an unreal experience, Adela. But keep trying to get hold of the real. There *is* a real world, you know, beyond your thought world, beyond your thought of Mr. Crawley." From the beginning Dr. Claflin had been careful to cast no wanton reflections on Mr. Crawley as a person, but she sometimes seemed rather offhandedly to stand him up as an idea and look right through him. "You yourself said, Adela, that it takes death to make life real."

And another time Dr. Claflin said, "Your capacity for bravery, your sense of adventure, that's part of the real. We must get something still more substantial out of it, Adela."

"How very funny," said Adela, "that you should say such things. Me brave?"

"You are a brave, a daring creature, Adela."

"I'd like to know what you really think," said Adela after a long and thoughtful pause.

"I think that on the whole you did the best thing."

"You mean in marrying as I did?"

"I mean in carrying the thing through as you did."

The girl slipped down on her pillow. She looked both scared and relieved. "Dr. Kate," she began at last, "did you ever have cases like mine before?"

"Yes, Adela, something like it."

A GIRL nearly dies in a little town like this, Dr. Kate. It's her bringing up. It gets her mind full of just one thing, marrying. And when there isn't anybody to marry—it's really terrible, Dr. Kate. A girl who isn't pretty suffers like anything. Her mind gets as full of things as a pretty girl's and life won't keep up. It got to where I just had to have a beau, Dr. Kate."

"I understand, Adela. And you were so brave about it! And what imagination! It conquered your timidity, it conquered all your old foolish inhibitions. You grew capable. You developed self-confidence. You learned to meet abstract situations and practical details. You must not lose what you have gained from this, Adela. It must go into your making——"

Now that she had begun Adela had to go far. "I wrote myself the letters, Dr. Kate, disguised my hand. It was a maid, Sallie Ross, at the boarding-house who mailed them. I'd send them to her and she'd mail them back. I paid her to do it. Once she went on a visit to Kansas City and I had to move Mr. Crawley out there. And then she got sick. That was when Mr. Crawley and I were supposed to be quarreling. I was going to let go of him then, but Mamie and the town together—I just couldn't keep from beginning again when Sallie wrote me she was up again and had gotten back to Chicago and could attend to my letters. And then the town began to get suspicious and Jim was going to Chicago and I had to close things up some way. I found that body in a Chicago morgue. He was a tramp killed by a train. It was hard to go through that part of it. But I was desperate and I did somehow."

"Adela, what has been bothering me ever since the funeral is this: suppose some wife or some mother is waiting for him somewhere? The people he belonged to might have come along and claimed the body if you hadn't taken him away."

"No, Dr. Kate, no. I asked all about that. He was to be buried, nameless, in a potter's field right away. He couldn't have been more lost than that to the people he might have belonged to, could he? They would never have found him. Oh, I suppose there was some risk. But I took it. I dared something. It was a part of what I started out to do. I—I can't be sorry that I did it, Dr. Kate, so far as I am concerned, and I don't think I did any harm to him. But there is one thing that is worrying me—ought I to tell the town? I got something out of the town, you know, under false pretenses. I got it to be interested in me and to talk to me and know that I was living."

AND there I stood with life wide open all around me, able to go anywhere and reach out all sorts of ways, and yet I was keeping myself in a coffin, too. It's been getting clearer and clearer to me. I am going back tomorrow and get ready to work.

LOOKING at her and past her, Dr. Claflin wondered if the town had not perhaps gotten as much out of Adela as Adela had gotten out of it. It had had a nice romance and had enjoyed it. She saw the gasp of incomprehension with which Wearing would take Adela's revelation. She saw the ethereal structure of Adela's dream buffeted by the strong winds of ridicule. She saw on beyond the town to the incomprehension with which the country at large would take it. It was the sort of story that would flash the land over. And hardly anybody would understand. To the laity Adela would be merely a fool. To the doctors she would be merely pathological. Here and there some wise person might get the exigent normality of life and womanhood that was responsible for Adela's rickety pretense. But that would be all. She answered slowly. "Adela, I don't know what the moral of all this is, but I do know this: You are a strong woman. You don't have to make me settle your problem for you."

Adela was up and dressed when Dr. Claflin called next day. "I've settled my problem," was the girl's greeting. She was on the floor beside her trunk and she stayed there a moment to lift some neat piles of underclothing into the lower tray while she answered Dr. Claflin's questions about her strength, her headache, her facial muscles.

"No, I don't feel nervous. No, not much weak. Plenty strong enough to do what I am going to do."

"And what's that, Adela?"

ADELA got up from the floor then and came over to the window where Dr. Kate had seated herself. "It's true what you said, Dr. Kate. I can't go on inside of myself just reading and mooning and dreaming and pretending. You said it and the man in the coffin made me feel it. Dead like that, he made me feel what it means or could mean to be alive. I suddenly got it. There he was, all that was left of him in that small space, not touching things outside of his coffin at all. And there I stood with life wide open all around me, able to go anywhere and reach out all sorts of ways, and yet I was keeping myself in a coffin, too. It's been getting clearer and clearer to me. I am going back to Chicago tomorrow and get ready to work. And about telling the town—I have thought a good deal about that—about picking him up in the morgue and all. Well, it was no discredit to him to bring him here the way I did, I guess. He had honor in death, whatever he had in life. Maybe he never had so much attention before. And to turn about now and make a laughing-stock of him? No, I can't do it. A little something more is due him since I got him into it. I am not going to tell the town."

Dr. Claflin sighed contentedly. "I think myself you have told the town enough," she said.

THE END.

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Our Own Congressional Record

(Continued from page 375)

That was not all that he did. At the last hour of all while Cummins of Iowa gibed and jeered at the "wilful 33," mostly Democrats, who were blocking this feature of the President's war program, Mr. Wilson sent a personal appeal to three or four men of his party to urge them to come to the aid of the measure. These appeals were received on the floor of the Senate.

And the Bonehead Brigade sat on immovable.

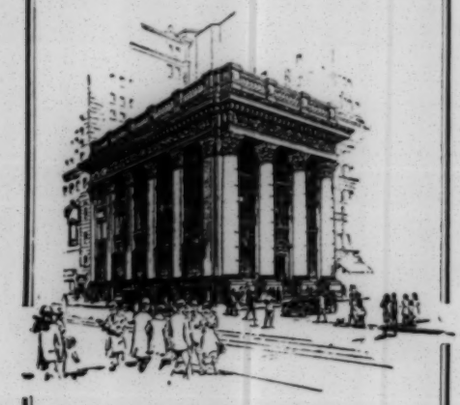
Immovable, they voted this measure to defeat. Immovable, they repudiated the President.

Woodrow Wilson stands today before America and the world for a flawless democracy. The voters of the country, men and women, can be relied on to take care of the Bonehead Brigade in due season.

Before the roll call a brilliant pro-suffrage speech was made by Senator Phelan of California, which will be submitted to our readers in another issue. So, too, will be submitted many sidelights on the situation.

Long before the final roll call we knew that we had not won. But we knew, too, that we stood in winning company and that victory would yet be ours.

R. Y.



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First Aid to Booth Captains

By Clara F. Porter

Of The Guaranty Trust Company, New York

SELLING bonds is much like selling shoes or candy or any other commodity. Selling Liberty bonds is easier than selling anything else in the world from one point of view and perhaps more difficult than anything else from another. It is easy to sell Liberty bonds in that, unlike most articles sold, it is not necessary for the volunteer bond seller to create desire on the part of the purchaser. Everybody wants to own a Liberty bond and nearly everybody, as the volunteer discovers sooner or later, has bought one by this time. It is for the reason that there are innumerable people who will smilingly assert that they have already bought more than they can afford that Liberty bond selling is difficult.

The real job put up to us by the United States Government, especially in the Fourth Liberty Loan, is to create INTENSE DESIRE to buy more bonds. The volunteer must make her goods so attractive that the buying public will want to practice thrift and will want to make sacrifices in order to buy more bonds. And the Committee in this campaign, no less than in the previous campaigns, will be confronted with the problem of how to make super-saleswomen out of the great army of volunteers who drift in and out of Liberty Loan headquarters. Such must be the purpose of any instruction classes to teach volunteers how to sell bonds, and such, in a small measure, must be the purpose of an article such as this.

SALESMANSHIP is not an exact profession like engineering or accounting. It is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules for selling anything. Probably there are as many methods employed in selling as there are different personalities among salesmen. The technique of salesmanship, after all, is largely psychological and highly intricate. Nevertheless, certain fundamentals, however obvious they may be to most persons, may well be emphasized. Very briefly these fundamentals are two: namely, Facts and Tact. The superwoman must know her goods thoroughly. For practical purposes this means being able to perform the clerical duties in connection with a sale, as well as knowing all there is to be known about Liberty bonds. This information should be the bond seller's mental background. She should not, of course, tell all she knows. In fact, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred it is neither necessary nor advisable to talk about the technical features of the bonds. In every case, however, it is necessary to know exactly how applications and receipts should be made out. It should be remembered, however, that the hundredth man or woman will be sure to stop at the booth at some time and ask some such question as any of the following:

Why have the bonds of the First Liberty Loan sold so much higher than the subsequent issues? Are the Fourth Liberty Loan bonds convertible? Are they tax exempt? What is a Sinking Fund? Should I have my bonds registered? Why is it unpatriotic to sell your Liberty bonds?

The volunteer bond seller who knows her goods can answer offhand these and many other questions. In every case, however, she will supply only the information which her tact or intuition tells her the individual purchaser desires to have given.

Information and tact all volunteer bond-sellers should possess. Booth captains should have, in addition, one other qualification. They should be promoters. Given an enthusiastic captain with a large circle of friends and the success of the booth is a foregone conclusion.

DURING the Second Liberty Loan nearly half a million dollars of bonds were sold at one of the smaller hotels. At this booth the captain appointed six of her friends sub-captains, each one in charge for one day a week. The sub-captain in charge on Mondays in turn appointed several helpers, as did all the others for their respective days. The captain was always at the booth early in the morning and late at night and at many intervals throughout the day. She encouraged her friends to meet her at the hotel. She arranged to have tea there. She and her sub-captains were informally "at home" at the booth to all their friends. At any hour of the day a gay little group of people was centered around the booth and there was usually one person occupying a very comfortable chair in the act of signing an application. In fact, there often appeared to be a line waiting to occupy that comfortable chair. This captain made a special effort to gain the co-operation of the manager of the hotel, who in turn showed her many courteous attentions. Of course, it is obvious that she had a rare genius for organization. However, her plans were so simple and so effective that they might easily be adopted in practically all booths.

All different kinds and descriptions of women have asked me during the previous loans, "Do you think I could sell Liberty bonds?" My answer has always been the same. "Yes, emphatically yes, if you have enthusiasm. If you can forget yourself entirely, lose all self-consciousness and think only of the bonds and the person to whom you expect to sell them."

It is not a difficult thing to do in these days. A greater part of our leisure time we are all thinking of the things that Liberty bonds may be said to symbolize. And as we become accustomed to think and act in terms of winning the war we unconsciously have a greater interest in the different people with whom we daily come in contact. Of all the patriotic service work that women are undertaking so gladly I can think of none which will reward the worker more richly than selling Liberty bonds. Thousands of women in our different cities during the Liberty Loan campaign are gaining quite as much in experience as they give. For the first time in their lives many are learning accurate business methods. They are having a wonderful opportunity to study human nature at first hand and are making unexpected friendships. Moreover, great numbers are beginning to practice what they preach, and thrift and economy, which in past years have been looked upon as unattractive virtues, are becoming popular as a vital means of winning the war.

Your War Account

BY JOHN PRICE JONES

A GREAT many people spend more money than they need to spend simply because they do not know from day to day how much money they actually are spending. The experience of a great many successful business men has proved that a simple system of setting aside the surplus in your check book will solve your problem in a very satisfactory manner. This system for our present purposes should be described as the war account. If you are earning enough to permit a surplus in the bank above immediate needs, open a war account in your check book. When you receive your salary, or your income, meet your current debts, allow for a necessary working balance at the bank, then deduct immediately from your regular account as large an amount as you possibly can and place this to the credit of your war account, kept in a parallel column in your check book.

Keeping your regular balance down in this manner to current needs prevents wasteful spending. It may seem in a way superficial, and yet in thousands of cases it has proved itself in practice that if a man looks at his regular account and finds that it is low he will refrain from some expenditure which he would make if there were in his regular bank account a substantial balance over immediate needs. Your war account should be regarded as an account of honor held in trust for the war uses of the Government and drawn upon only to meet taxes, payments on Liberty bonds, or War Savings Stamps, or Y. M. C. A. or Red Cross, or some definite Government purpose. Whether you have a bank account or not, your surplus over immediate needs belongs to your Government.

The time for arguing with American people about the advisability and necessity of lending money to the Government has very properly passed. It may be safely assumed that the great majority of the American people realize that the real truth of the matter is that in war time income does not really belong absolutely to the individual. The individual receives it in trust, every dollar of it, subject to the superior war needs of the Government. What is necessary for health and efficiency must be spent, the balance belongs, until victory is won, to the men at the front.

OF course, every one realizes the personal advantage of thrift as a basis for the building of success. There are some people to whom this argument appeals very substantially even in these critical times. While the needs of the Government and of our men in France and on the high seas settle the question with most of us as to whether or not we should lend our money and as to how much we should lend, there is still a very natural realization at the back of our minds that all this money put into Liberty bonds is the accumulation of a reserve which is the first essential step to personal success in a business way. Many men are buying Liberty bonds and War Savings Stamps for their children to give them that little start in life which sometimes makes all the difference between success or failure, or at least between small success and success in a bigger way. The public will probably never have again such an opportunity as is offered today through the medium of Government securities, paying a good interest and available in small denominations within the reach of every purse. While the patriotic impulse is the predominating and all-sufficient one at this time, it is perfectly proper to have in mind that the men who will be successful in the future are those who are intelligent enough to take advantage of this opportunity to place their savings in Liberty bonds and War Savings Stamps.

WHATEVER the immediate motive, however, the greater spirit behind it is going to be more and more the determining factor in the success of this great branch of war endeavor. In order to give to the Government the money it needs, we must not save spasmodically; we must actually consecrate ourselves to the saving of dollars and labor and materials. Only in this way can we hasten the day of victory and thus avoid the needless expenditure of the lives of our fighting men. We must save persistently and greatly in order that our sacrifice may even remotely approach the sacrifice they are making. It means constant watchfulness; constant self-restraint. It is not going to be entirely easy at all times, but, after all, our part is so much easier than their part that there can be no question of our ultimate success in this great undertaking; and when saving begins to seem hard let us smile over it, as perhaps those fighting men would smile if they thought for a moment we could not do it.

The Liberty Loans, as many of them as may be necessary until victory is won, will undoubtedly be as successful in the future as they have been in the past. The one great essential step which must be taken, however, to insure the overwhelming success which the American public demands of itself, is that the nation should go on a budget basis, that every family, every man and woman should go on a budget basis, that the great spirit of democracy, which has found its spokesman in our President, and which has awakened the people of all the great nations of the Allies to a higher realization of the objects for which they and we are fighting, should be applied to our personal lives, day after day, and translated into effective action for winning the war. We must bring our spirit of victory home to our own lives through personal sacrifice, through the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure, the elimination of extravagance, and through the intelligent saving which will insure a healthy business and financial nation and at the same time produce the necessary money—the necessary labor and materials—speedily enough to prevent the waste of human life and guarantee an early victory.

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

An Investment for Women

By Eleanor Kerr
Statistician of Imbrie & Co., Bankers

ASIDE from the obvious fact that to be patriotic we should invest in Liberty Loan bonds, because this helps our country and the Government asks us to do so, there are many peculiarly excellent reasons why women should invest in this security.

Indeed, that word "security" is itself one of the chief reasons. Never before in the history of the world has so secure an investment been offered freely and widely to the public.

Of the leading nations of the world, the United States has the smallest proportionate debt with the largest resources. It occupies, also, the fortunate position of being a country which, while it has developed many large, basic and profitable industries, is, nevertheless, an agricultural one and one which has within its borders practically all the raw materials necessary to maintain and increase both its population and its industries.

The national wealth of the United States is estimated to be $250,000,000,000; the annual income of its people about $40,000,000,000, while the public debt at the beginning of this fiscal year was $12,500,000,000. What these figures mean is that, considered as the security of a corporation, they show that the United States could pay its debt twenty times over out of its assets; that the nation's income is eighty times the interest on the bonds; and that in any one year the people of the country could cancel the entire debt by devoting to it less than one-third of their incomes. The Issuer has had a prosperous and steadily increasing business for over 130 years and has always met all obligations promptly and in full.

ONLY a little over one-half of our national debt, moreover, represents any burden upon this country, since about $5,000,000,000 of it has been loaned in turn by the Government to our Allies, who will eventually repay it.

To women, the question of the security of both the principal and interest of an investment is of utmost importance, since, in the majority of cases they, and often their family, are dependent on the moneys so invested. To them, the Liberty Loan offers a complete assurance of income with safety of principal.

The amount of income is also an important consideration. The rate of interest on the Fourth Liberty Loan is 4¼%, which is a comparatively large return for so safe an investment. Only a great war could have brought about such a chance. Usually the bonds of the United States Government sell upon a basis which gives only two to three per cent. on the investment, and the bonds of well-known and prosperous corporations seldom sell in normal times upon a larger income yield than 4 per cent.

ANOTHER side to investments is the choosing of them in such a way that there will be an increase of principal due to appreciation of them on the market. All financial authorities are agreed that the United States Liberty Loan bonds will increase in value when normal conditions are re-established. History—both former and recent—shows us this. After the Civil War the price of war bonds issued by the Government steadily increased until the 4% bonds finally were selling around 130; that is, they were worth a third more in the market than their face value. The bonds of the first Liberty Loan have been selling above par for some time. It is true that the rise is slight and due to their being tax free, but it indicates the same tendency.

In recent years this country has come to feel that its greatest future lies in the establishment of industries on a scale which shall make the country more prosperous, through the development and utilization of our enormous supplies of raw material and water power, both for home and foreign trade.

To develop any industry on a large scale, huge sums of money are required and in only a limited number of cases were these sums provided prior to June, 1917.

The Liberty Loans raised, whether used by our Government or loaned to our Allies, have been almost entirely spent in this country and have been directly applied to the financing of great industrial enterprises. These enterprises at first glance would seem to be entirely for war purposes, but modern methods of warfare require so many diversified articles that a very large proportion of "War" material is material which, when the war ceases, is used by, or is applicable to, the normal life of the country. The end of the war should find us and our Allies as a whole the possessors of great industrial plants whose output is either in itself a most desirable addition to our lives in times of peace, or factories which can be converted readily to the production of articles of peace consumption.

The great machine shops created for the manufacture of munitions; the great advance made in the production of textiles; of tanks and motor trucks; of aircraft and the many other developments of the last three years, will remain after the attainment of peace.

Such great investments and work on such a large scale would not have taken place except for the stimulus of war, nor can they take place without the money to invest in their creation and the purchase of their output.

The Liberty Loans are one of the chief means through which the United States is financing the greatest industrial development the world has ever seen, but to the investor instead of a risk always attendant on financing of industrials, the Government offers its own bond, the safest investment in the world.

Stage Women's War Relief

ONE of the most result-productive features of the Fourth Liberty Loan drive in New York City will be the miniature theatre to be erected on the terrace of the Public Library facing Fifth Avenue, by the Stage Women's War Relief, of which Miss Ray Cox is chairman and Miss Wheeler vice-chairman.

Here, on behalf of the new loan, will take place a continuous program of speeches, vaudeville and entertainment of varied nature to attract the attention of the public to the loan and to arouse and maintain enthusiasm for the drive. This site has always been a strategic position for anything of the sort, and here, during the last drive, one woman alone sold $2,000,000 worth of Liberty bonds. For this campaign a schedule of acts with so much "push" in it is promised that the drive will have little trouble in going victoriously over the top. On the stage of the little theatre the best-known stars of the stage will appear, much foreign talent, as well as a number of other entertainers such as cartoonists and musicians of note.

In addition to the stationary theatre at the Library plaza, there will also be a traveling theatre which will be driven around the city, covering an enormous territory, and stopping at various points to allow the speakers and entertainers to do their duty.

Correspondence

Alien Wives and Loyal Women

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

YOUR interest in the condition of the denaturalized, disfranchised women who have become such automatically through marriage to alien husbands assures me of your assistance in obtaining the names of those women who wish to regain their American citizenship.

Our British sisters have recently secured a unanimous vote in the House of Commons for a bill removing the disability of British women who have married unnaturalized aliens, and prescribing the form of procedure by which a British woman might, after due application, regain her own nationality.

Congressman Jeanette Rankin introduced early in the present Congress a bill drawn by me to do the same thing for American women that the House of Commons has done for British women. In December last we had hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives in favor of this bill. National organizations representing 7,000,000 women stand for this measure, and no woman spoke against it. Nevertheless, the bill was tabled and still sleeps in Committee.

Meanwhile, women who are spies are gaining American nationality by marriage to American citizens, while our own loyal American women are powerless to achieve that privilege.

Will the women who wish to regain their American nationality please write to me forcibly as to why they wish the bill passed, and will every woman voter write to her Congressman and Senator in favor of the bill—thus bringing to bear a pressure that will resurrect this measure and give hope of favorable action?

Hoping for an early response,

(Mrs.) Ellen Spencer Mussey,
Chairman Committee Legal Status of Women, National Council of Women.
1317 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C.

OUR attention has been called to the reported case of Margaret Voorhees, a German spy, who confessed to having married Voorhees, an American chauffeur, to obtain American citizenship.

An article in the *Survey* speaks of "ludicrous scenes in the police departments on several occasions recently when American women who had never been abroad, who were fervent patriots and leaders in all sorts of war enterprises, had to write themselves down alien enemies because years ago they committed the indiscretion of getting married to unnaturalized Germans."—Editors.

Who Represents Alabama?

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

I enclose a copy of a letter to Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: In view of the fact that Alabama in the late primary, decided adversely to the views you expressed in your addresses throughout the state, may it not be inferred that in your opposition in the Senate to the submission to the states for their approval or rejection of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution, you no longer represent the wishes of the majority of the voters of this state?

In the late primary—thanks to the tactics of the liquor and allied interests, who hoped that linking the suffrage question with that of prohibition, would aid them in defeating the adoption of the latter—both these questions were up for consideration and though the suffrage question was not formally presented to the voters to be acted upon, it was just as truly passed upon by them, and this fact should have its weight with you, if you wish to fully represent the expressed will of the voters of Alabama.

The great majority of the leaders and representatives of the political parties as now represented in the Senate and House, favor the passage through the Senate of the proposed suffrage amendment; how then can you consistently continue to oppose the passage of this measure in view of the address you made a short time since in the Senate, favoring the rule of the majority?

Permit me to commend that address for your perusal and then join those who see ahead, a world made safe for democracy by the nations which put their trust in the full application of democratic principles.

E. Q. Norton.

Mobile, Ala.

New Presbyterian Methods

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

"I WAS much interested in the article, 'The Women Preacher' (issue of August 24, page 257), emanating from Miss Minnie Ellet. I happened to be at the time in the 'hay fever refuge' of northern Michigan, and read the article referred to to a Presbyterian friend (I always have my Citizen follow me), and together we discussed it. She gave me the information that proved to me that Presbyterians, conservative as they have ever been, are 'putting off the old and putting on the new' methods—getting a vision, as it were, as well as a new version of predestination regarding the status of Presbyterian women.

"Verily, 'the world do move' even in the Presbyterian pulpit, for our informant says that Mrs. Henry Shire, who formerly lived at Clarksville, Tenn., has been regularly installed as 'Stated Supply,' with consent of the Presbytery, in the flourishing Presbyterian church of Concord, Michigan, to serve in the absence of her husband, who was pastor of the church, but who is now serving 'Uncle Sam' as a Y. M. C. A. secretary in France. It is said that Mrs. Shire is rendering efficient service as minister, and her congregations are delighted. She is an ideal pastor.

"Why is it, then, that women who are specially trained and equipped for just such work are not placed in charge of the hundreds of vacant pulpits, made so by the war?"

Carrie D. Hageman.

Muncie, Indiana.

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The Book Stall

Books and Reading

PRESIDENT WILSON's Liberty Loan speech in New York City on September 27 gives point and emphasis to the foresight of the editors of *Books and Reading* (New Church Press, 3 West 29th street, New York City) in devoting one of the magazine's "occasional issues" to the question of "the rational road to peace." It is in the light of the terms laid down in the President's program and in the spirit of the review's caption that peace can be discussed at present. At the top of the title page is the confession of faith of the editors: "Win the war conclusively. Beware the cry 'Peace'! 'Peace'! when there is no peace."

An opening poem by Eden Phillpotts "to the pacifists" reminds them that it will not be a desire for venegeance by the nations of the earth that shall punish Germany, but the invincible law of cause and effect. No matter how earnestly the Allies desire to be generous, Germany will suffer the poison of the "inexorable cancer" of remorse:

"For destiny hath willed that none may meet
The spiritual reckoning of his neighbor's soul.
And paths Germania planned for other feet
Her own shall tread unto the fatal goal.
The lustral wave shall flow; the fire must burn
Ere living, procreating peace return."

Yet, some time, argue these editors, the nations are going to sit down and consider peace terms, and it behooves thoughtful people to know what are the historical examples and what the possible philosophical ideals of peace. It is to a full table that these generous writers have invited their guests. Fundamental to the discussion is Professor Walter Alison Phillip's "Historical Survey of Projects of Universal Peace."

This presents a cinema of peace ideals and their progenitors. It shows the reader the "Grand Design" which Sully ascribes to Henry IV. of France—a design, by the way, instigated to do away with the House of Hapsburg. It recalls the forgotten dreams of Napoleon, the Abbé de St. Pierre, of Alexander I. of Russia, of Immanuel Kant.

One cannot say that the survey is not somewhat disheartening, as it somehow suggests that the dreams for the League of Nations, which seem so rosy now, are but repetitions of what brilliant souls have for generations hoped.

Professor Thorstein Veblen, of the University of Missouri, and a member of the Food Administration, follows with a discussion of the "Conditions of a Lasting Peace."

But it is in the article of John Spargo, in G. Lowes Dickinson's "Democratic Control of Foreign Policy," in James John Garth Wilkinson's "Patriotism as the Love of National Good," and in George D. Herron's "Woodrow Wilson and the World Peace," that America's possible contribution to a stable peace when the war shall have been fought to its end, becomes articulated.

Concerning Mr. Wilson's war utterances in the Senate, this last writer has the profoundest admiration. His article is interpretive rather than polemical, and he has this to say in appreciation of the President's policies: "I believe that the future—perhaps ransomed from our terrible present by his initiative—will hold Woodrow Wilson to have been the world's first international statesman. There is already forming, as a result of his insistence, and for the first time in history, a body of international public opinion."

It is this concluding essay which so closely binds this entire review of the "rational road to peace" into one bundle with the President's speech of September 27.

A Primer for Voters

MRS. JEAN H. NORRIS, attorney at law, has written a real first aid to voters—any voters, new or old, male or female. It is a voters' primer and wastes no time on discursive platitudes; it tells just what every New York elector needs to know, where and when he or she is to register and vote and what procedure to follow.

Its title, *Do you Know How to Vote?* is fully justified. After studying this little pamphlet, published for the Law Committee of the Democratic County Committee of New York County, 145 East 14th street, no one can have the slightest excuse for not knowing exactly what to do. It is not only that he who runs may read, but he who mtors past may read, so clear and direct are Mrs. Norris's directions.

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For the Woman of Leisure

A BOOK for first voters which underestimates Women's political acumen is *The New Voter* (G. P. Putnam's Sons), by Charles Willis Thompson. The chapters first appeared serially in the New York *Times* and were written on the supposition that all serious information whatsoever must be served up to women in spoonfuls and diluted with personalities. This means, of course, a considerable waste of time and the modern woman infinitely prefers tabloids to froth.

There is a great deal of somewhat interesting political gossip in Mr. Thompson's book, some real information and much reading matter—pleasant reading, at that. The leisure woman, if there is such a woman in this second year of America's part in the war, will doubtless gain from its pages a fund of particularized information concerning the intricacies of politics as practiced by highly specialized male politicians. In the 340 pages of the book she will not find many concrete facts of immediate usefulness.

Standing with the President

(*Continued from page 367*)

"The great Democratic organization of Cook County has been the pioneer in granting them to her. On the central managing committee of that organization women now sit as committee members, with the same authority and voting power as men.

"The Democratic party of Illinois expresses its pride and satisfaction that a portion of its organization has been the first to confer real political rights upon woman. It demands that legislation shall immediately be enacted which shall enable women to vote for and hold the same offices as man. It asks for the immediate enactment of the constitutional amendment now before the United States Senate and it pledges itself to throw its organized strength behind the adoption of that amendment, when it is submitted for ratification to the various states.

"It endorses the stand that its United States Senator, James Hamilton Lewis, has taken on the question of equal suffrage for women, and urges him to further efforts in the same cause."

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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the *causes* which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did *you* suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): *Ours*, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

The inference from the foregoing is plain. If THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is selected by an army officer and by a prominent editor as an authority on the Great War (and many editors and officers own it) the value of the work to the public for general reference goes without saying.

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